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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

From the Declaration of Independence

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

July 4, 1776.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIV THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1920 Number 25

AS A LITTLE CHILD.

To feel the freshness of the opening year;
The joy of swelling buds and springing grass;
To see the flame-like crocus lift its spear;
To trace God's footsteps shining where they pass;

To know that heaven is never far away,
Nor lose the open vision of the soul;
To walk 'mid common wonders day by day,
And read the cryptic signs on nature's scroll;

To watch the lyric seasons come and go;
The flickering leaf, the fern's uncurling fronds;
The delicate star-shaped crystals of the snow;
The crinkling stream, the osier's slender wands;

The yellow bee with pollen-dusted thighs;
The lily with the dewdrop in its breast;
The nascent splendor of the morning skies;
The evening purpling in the solemn west;

Yea, still to find the old world sweet and fair,
To move 'mid ancient evils undefiled,
With eye unjaundiced by deceit and care;
Keep me, O Father, as a little child.

—*James B. Kenyon.*

The Harvest-Home. James T. White & Co., New York.

Conditions in Europe, more especially in Russia, Hungary, Poland and the Central Empires, are apparently reaching a stage of indescribable horror. The shipping of food into Transylvania is impossible except under armed guard, as famished hordes of men and women wander the countryside, and brigandage is universal. In Poland, has appeared a new and more virulent form of epidemic influenza, which kills its victims in a space of twenty-four hours. From Vienna, in the correspondence of a reputable New York newspaper, comes the first tale of cannibalism. Meat, sold as pork, was suspected to be dog flesh; when placed under microscopic examination it was found to be human flesh! It is evident that conditions unknown in Europe since the Thirty Years' War, or even the Black Death, are now prevailing everywhere east of the Rhine and the Danube. In vast areas of country, all government has vanished, and every last vestige of ordered civilization disappeared. Millions of people are living like primitive savages, hidden away in forests and holes in the ground, and subsisting on what chance or theft may supply. Famine is sweeping away vast multitudes, and pestilence has its other unnumbered victims. Whether Europe can escape extinction is perhaps still doubtful, and depends in large measure upon what America can do in lending aid. It is difficult to see how anybody can sleep a-nights who has not contributed his mite to European relief funds.

Steadily, like the marching of the gods in a Dunsany drama, comes the news of the unfolding of the Russian situation. On the same day which brings the word that Allied trading with the Co-operatives, has been made impossible by Lenine's control of these societies, comes the announcement from Stockholm that "peace negotiations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia are now in progress." Just how there can be peace negotiations between two nations which have never been at war, and one of which will not recognize the other sufficiently to establish trade relations, is one of those mysteries with which the Allied governments have regaled the world ever since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Out of all the lies and camouflage and wanton deceptions, however, there are little by little beginning to emerge these days the inexorable facts. Lenine has completely destroyed the most cruel and dishonest attack upon the liberties of a struggling people, of which history has any record! Lenine has outwitted all the statesmen of western Europe, and has forced through their wretched game to a "check-mate"! Lenine is now the dictator of the peace of the world! We may like Lenine or we may not—but in either case, we shall witness in the next few months the establishment of peace on Bolshevist terms, the recognition of the Bolshevist government, and therewith the triumph of a fundamental revolution in human affairs. What will come of this amazing event, no man can say, save that Lenine and his associates now face the greatest task of all—that of demonstrating the efficiency and beneficence of their new system of social organization.

The universal military training bill is out at last! It is now before the Senate (No. 3792), having been reported by the Committee on Military Affairs by a vote of 8 to 5, and debate has already begun. What this bill means may be indicated by two facts: (1) In the first place, it provides for four months compulsory military training for boys. This is only an entering wedge, however, for, tucked away in Section 51, is a clause which states that whenever a boy has completed his four months training, he may remain two months longer. This will give the Army a "talking point" when they begin to agitate to have the training period increased to six months. This gained, they will find cogent arguments for raising it to a year. It is well to remember in this connection that the General Staff is on record as desiring two years

compulsory training, and that this recommendation has never been withdrawn. (2) Secondly, this bill provides for permanent military conscription. Such is unquestionably the purport of Section 73, which puts every man in the country between the ages of 18 and 45 at the disposal of the General Staff "whenever Congress shall declare and the President shall proclaim that a national emergency exists." Mr. Hearst, for example, stirs up trouble with Mexico, an hysterical Congress declares a "national emergency," and every man between the ages specified is automatically inducted into the army! This is what "the war to end war" has brought us. These are the blessings freely bestowed by the triumphant struggle to "make the world safe for democracy." From beaten and prostrate Germany, we take over the system which ruined her, and hope thus to prosper in ways of freedom and happiness. Was there ever such madness? Were the people ever so betrayed? If this bill is not defeated, we shall have America militarized from coast to coast in a dozen years. We shall have a war machine as docile at the bottom, and as drunk and swaggering at the top, as Germany's. We shall have "the next war" planned for, prepared for, and therefore made inevitable. Our own home brand of Prussians are seeking to capture the nation, and they must be stopped. Write your senator and representative *now!*

Another piece of proposed legislation, to be exposed and defeated, is the so-called Sedition Act in its various forms. It stirs an almost dying hope for America to note that a public opinion, dumb and acquiescent when the Sterling Bill passed the Senate, is at last aroused against the Graham and Davey Bills, now in committee of the House. What these acts portend is shown by the fact that under the terms of the Sterling Bill, the First Inaugural Address of President Lincoln would be a seditious document, and its publication and distribution therefore illegal. The provisions of the Graham Bill make no less a person than Attorney-General Palmer "shudder" with apprehension at the possibilities of tyranny contained therein. What the sponsors of this legislation pretend to be aiming at is laws penalizing violence directed to the forcible overthrow of government. But in seeking this end, our Congressmen are acting like Professor Tyndall's hunter who fired off a battery of machine-guns to shoot a rabbit. They would rob us all of civil freedom, make "a scrap of paper" of the Bill of Rights, for the sake of preventing the possible crimes of a few possible criminals. Nor have we ever been told why the laws against criminal anarchy, now on the statute-books, are not adequate today, as they have always been in the past, for the safe-guarding of the government. The fact of the matter is that, under the influence of a passing wave of public hysteria, the citizens of America stand in imminent danger of losing those rights and privileges of free democratic life, for the sake of which the Republic was established. Nothing but protest, loud, long and determined, can save the nation. This protest has already been begun by the American Federation of Labor, the Committee of 48, the National Civil Liberties Union, and other alert bodies. Now let the churches, and city clubs, and women's clubs take this protest up, and swell its volume! And let every individual citizen register his opposition, by letter or telegram, with his representative at Washington! The fight against these measures is already half won. Let it now be driven through at once to a triumphant conclusion!

Good news on the Negro question is so scarce that every favorable item should be cherished like gold—yea, like "much fine gold." Such an item is that which has come to us recently from Arkansas. The story of the hideous race riots in that state in early winter are familiar. Familiar also is the story of the travesty of justice perpetrated in the trials of certain Negroes arrested for complicity in these riots, and the condemnation of many of them to death. Now comes the news that the Governor of Arkansas has granted an indefinite reprieve to these men, and that their cases have all been taken to the Supreme Court for review. It is certain that the processes of justice, so wantonly violated in the trials of these Negroes, will there be vindicated, and the sentences of death corrected. Incidentally it should be recorded that the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has in this instance, as in so many others, been of priceless value. We take advantage of this occasion to state that the Negroes of America can best help themselves, and be helped by friendly whites, through membership in this organization (70 Fifth Avenue, New York City).

The situation of our Protestant churches is now so bad, that confession has become quite the order of the day. The latest witness to lay bare his soul is Rev. Robert W. Peach, pastor of Emmanuel Reformed Episcopal Church, in Newark, New Jersey. In a recent statement to the Interchurch Council on Organic Union, appealing for the amalgamation of existing denominations, Dr. Peach declared that Protestants had built perhaps 100,000 superfluous churches at a cost of $500,000,000. "If not a single church had been built in the last thirteen years," he said, "those standing in 1906 would accommodate at a single service every Protestant communicant of the year 1919, and every Roman Catholic in our country,

baptized infants included, and, besides, every man, woman and child in Canada, Cuba and Porto Rico, and there would still be much room to spare." On the basis of these startling facts, Dr. Peach pleads for a union of the Protestant sects. So far, so good! But he might well go farther and plead for the reorganization of our religious institutions in accordance with the ideals of modern community life. An old Russian peasant, described by Ernest Poole in his book, "The Village," had the right idea. Meeting with his fellows to consider the religious changes occasioned by the revolution, he said, "We must not waste (money) foolishly. In each village the people must meet and choose what church they want the most. Then let us support that church but no others." Let there be a community church, in other words, where all the people may live their spiritual lives, and seek their spiritual ideals, together!

What is true of this country seems to be even more true of England. A recent sermon by Canon Peter Green of Manchester, dealing drastically with the religious situation has been widely quoted. For the future of religion, said this distinguished churchman, he did not fear in the least; but that anything approaching the present organization of religion was likely to survive, he esteemed a very doubtful thing. For the Church of England, he confessed, he had scarcely any hope at all. The influence of the War in precipitating the present situation, he recognized with perfect clearness. "Is it likely," he said, "that we should go through five years of war, and see religion deeply discredited, without some harmful result?" "This," he continued, "is what most people do not seem to understand. Granted that the present situation is temporary, the only possible course of safety is the entire democratization of the church." What this process of democratization is, the Canon did not say save as he forecast the inevitable disestablishment of the Anglican Church. But that it involves the end of present denominational rivalries, the humanization of theology, the socialization of practical religious activities, may be regarded as certain. Canon Peters suggested a fear that it was perhaps "too late" now to accomplish anything. And so it is, if we are to content ourselves with such hopeless efforts at ecclesiastical regeneration as are represented by the present financial "drives" which are demoralizing our Protestant churches. But it is not too late if we integrate our religion with the social life of our day, and make it what it ought to be—the spiritual expression of man's common struggle for the common good.

Amnesty

The passing of Abraham Lincoln's birthday brings to mind certain memories of the Civil War, which are of momentous significance from the standpoint of the present day. One of these pertains to the matter of amnesty for political offenders.

It is something of a shock to persons not intimately familiar with the career of President Lincoln, to discover that he dealt with opponents of his war policy in somewhat the same severe manner with which the administration of Woodrow Wilson has made us familiar in this latter day. Of course, the crisis in 1861 was out of all proportion to that of 1917. The enemy of the nation in 1861 was on our own soil—at our very threshold, so to speak—and not three thousand miles across the sea, and already beset by half the world in arms. Treason was not hidden away in a few disloyal and alien hearts, but had openly taken possession of the government of many states of the Union, was flaunting itself boldly in the Senate, House and federal courts, and was raising armies to resist the authority of the United States. "Every department of the government was paralyzed by treason," said Secretary Stanton, in review of the situation. "Defection appeared in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the Cabinet, in the courts; ministers and consuls returned from foreign countries to enter the insurrectionary councils, or land or naval forces; commanding and other officers of the army and in the navy betrayed the councils or deserted their posts for commands in the insurgent forces. Treason was flagrant in the revenue and in the post-office service, as well as in the Territorial governments and in the Indian reserves. Not only governors, judges, legislators and ministerial officers in the States, but even whole States, rushed, one after another, with apparent unanimity, into rebellion. The capital was besieged, and its connection with all the states cut off. Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal, political combinations and secret societies were formed, furthering the work of disunion, while, from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies individuals were found furnishing men, money, and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy-yards, arsenals, military posts and garrisons one after another, were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents."

Here was a much more serious situation than that of 1917, when there was no open opposition to the government, and when, according to Federal Judge George W. Anderson of Massachusetts, who was until the armistice in intimate personal association with the United States Attorney-General, "more than 99 per cent of the advertised and reported pro-Ger-

man plots never existed." Even so, however, President Lincoln moved slowly, reluctantly, with none of the unctuous delight in tyranny which seemed to characterize the Wilson administration at the entrance of America into the European conflict. "The Union must be preserved," he said, "and hence all indispensable means must be employed. (But) we should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable." And again, "I (have) been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of necessity in the unusual exercise of power."

Nevertheless, so perilous became the situation in 1861, that Lincoln was at last obliged to resort to measures which stirred deep resentment among liberals of his time, and which have since been accounted by historians as among the most questionable acts of his official career. It is to be noted that, with the possible exception of Clement Vallandingham of Ohio, no man was ever disturbed because of his opinions. The campaigns conducted during the War by the Democrats of the North, more especially the Seymour campaigns in New York, and the McClellan presidential campaign in 1864, were characterized by a freedom of expressed opinion which render insignificant anything said by the Socialists of our time from Victor Berger to Eugene Debs. Aside from this matter of opinion, however, Abraham Lincoln acted with stern severity, and with what must be described as doubtful constitutional authority. He directed measures to prevent the use of the post-office for treasonable correspondence. He subjected passengers to and from foreign countries to new passport regulations. He suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in various places. He caused persons who were represented to him as being engaged, or about to engage, in disloyal or treasonable practices, to be arrested by special civil as well as military agencies, and detained in military custody when necessary, to prevent them and deter others from such practices.

All this sounds very much like the autocratic procedure of our time. Ugly stories are told of outrages committed under the sanction of the "letters de cachet" issued by Seward and later by Stanton. "The mere number of the political prisoners," says Lord Charnwood, in his biography of Lincoln, "counted by thousands." It is not altogether surprising that the President was derided and denounced as "King Lincoln" and "Abraham I." But there was one great difference in the policies of Lincoln and of Wilson, which indicates the vast gulf which separates the spirit of the two administrations. I refer to the fact of *amnesty!*

On February 14, 1862, when the War was not a year old, and the cause of the Union was dark indeed, Secretary Stanton, by authority of the President, issued a proclamation of amnesty. After reciting the various measures adopted by the government, and the reasons therefor, the Secretary declared:

> A favorable change of public opinion has (now)occurred. The line between loyalty and disloyalty is plainly defined; the whole structure of the government is firm and stable; apprehensions of public danger and facilities for treasonable practices have diminished with the passions which prompted heedless persons to adopt them. . . . The President, in view of these facts, and anxious to favor a return to the normal course of the administration as far as regard for the public welfare will allow, directs that all political prisoners or state prisoners, now held in military custody, be released on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States.

Contrast this magnanimous action with what is now existing in this country! Never at any time during the war against Germany, as we have seen, was there any serious danger of conspiracy or treason. The sentiment of the country was united. There were no disloyal officials in the ranks of government, and no attempt of any kind to disrupt army or navy. The only peril was the insignificant machinations of a few scattered pro-German zealots, whose activities were easily to be taken care of by the routine vigilance of the secret police. In the face of this position of almost absolute security, the government went into a panic of terror, which would have shamed a school-girl at midnight, and started a warfare upon minority opinion which stands unexampled in the history of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Men and women were arrested on every hand, not for anything that they had done, but solely for certain ideas and principles which they professed. Thousands of these political offenders were tried, punished with prison sentences which rivalled in ferocity anything known in the worst days of Czarist Russia, and thrust forgotten and helpless in noisome dungeons. Two thousand of them, staggering under sentences aggregating more than twenty-five thousand years in all, are behind the bars at this very moment. And every effort at amnesty has failed, every appeal been ruthlessly denied!

It is this denial of amnesty which constitutes the most damning indictment of the Wilson administration as contrasted with that of Abraham Lincoln. The Civil War President granted amnesty, in the midst of hostilities, at the earliest possible opportunity of mercy, to persons whose offences were primarily not those of hostile opinion but of hostile action. Today the late War is at an end. For more than fifteen months, we have to all intents and purposes been at peace. Our enemy is beaten, prostrate, helpless. There is no remotest suggestion of danger to any person or from any quarter. Even in Europe, war penalties have been lifted, and war offendors granted unconditional release. But in America, political offendors are still confined, and appeals on their behalf fall idly on deaf ears. Nay

more, prosecutions under the Espionage Act are still going forward, and new victims being added to those already in the clutches of their persecutors.

Could anything be more cruel than this? What harm is being avoided in keeping Eugene V. Debs in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta? What good is going to be done by forcing Victor Berger behind the bars? Is any other motive at work in these cases than vengeance, dictated by a cowardice unworthy of grown men? The administration of Mr. Wilson has much to account for to posterity. The indictments which it must face at the bar of history are terrible to contemplate. And not least among them all is the persecution of political offenders for opinion's sake in time of war, and especially the refusal to them of amnesty in time of peace. In these regards at least Woodrow Wilson is as far removed from Abraham Lincoln as the east is from the west!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

REPLYING TO HUDSON MAXIM BEFORE THE BOSTON CITY CLUB, WHO ASKED, "SHALL WE BE GOVERNED BY BRAINS OR BEEF."

You call them "cattle" who have manned each ship,
That o'er wide waters wound a devious way
Bearing the fearful instruments of death
Which you conceived they fashioned for the fray?
You dare to call men "cattle," men whose toil
Hath wrested from dark earth the shining coal
That sent the great ships panting o'er the foam,
Out out across the deep to some far goal?
You speak of "brains and beef" and dare to hold
Your head up, do you dare to face the world
Where Edwin Markham lives his noble life,
And freedom's banner still remains unfurled?
Woe to you men, blind leaders of the blind,
Who looking back and forward through the years
Can see the patient striving human race,
Only as brutes, because your coward fears,
Have made you blind to progress, blind to love,
To all that Christ bequeathed us, all he brought;
The common people gladly heard him speak
The truth that Lincoln died for, Tolstoy taught.
You dare to stand upon the same kind earth
That dear Jane Addams' saintly feet have trod,
To hurl your dark predictions o'er the land,
Where good John Woolman spoke the truth of God?

. . . . . .

Yet we mayhap are wrong to let your words
Move us to rage, reprisal or reply,
It is the part of wisdom when men rave,
To let their speech unnoticed fall and die.
I only know that truth, poetic moves,
On Pegasus free-winged for instant flight
She leaves the ancient "scaffold" for the "throne,"
Though cruel wrong still masquerades as right.
Though bitter vengeful voices fill the air,
Fair Truth when "crushed to earth" did rise again,
And Pilgrim feet today may firmly tread
Where error slowly dying "writhes in pain."

"KATE RESTIEAUX".

CONTRIBUTED

Intellectual Cowardice and the Denominational College

[We regard the following article as one of the most remarkable which has ever appeared in UNITY. It is a composite statement written by three instructors of English; one, a Southern Baptist, who avoided trouble only through the infinite exercise of tact; one, an eastern Presbyterian, who nearly fell into serious trouble because he refused to sacrifice truth-telling to tact; and one, a Western Methodist, who never consciously did or said a deliberately tactless thing, but who was nevertheless condemned and asked to resign for reasons that only ignorance and bigotry would appreciate. Their experiences in the three great sections of our country are so similar as to give justice to the claim that they are widely typical. The author of the Introduction is Mr. Frederick J. Pohl.—EDITORS.]

INTRODUCTION.

Many denominational colleges are far from being educational institutions in any sense of the term. Some of them are positive hindrances to progress, and are active and bitter opponents of culture, art, originality of thought, and development of true independence in opinion and character.

This statement is a very severe denunciation of the denominational college. It has not been dictated, however, by feelings of personal animosity. We who have been hampered in our teaching, called to task by President and Trustees, and in the case of one of us, asked to resign, are not embittered by our experiences. We do not advocate the instantaneous abolition of the denominational college. We do not say, as do many young men of our acquaintance, that the Church always has been and always will be the foe of enlightenment. We have faith in the future of the Church, and hold that religion is as essential as athletics to the development of the well-rounded man.

No institution has for centuries so consistently and enthusiastically upheld the cause of education as has the Christian Church. All honor to denominations which support colleges! All dishonor to colleges whose policies a denomination attempts to dictate.

The same Church which founds colleges oftentimes keeps those colleges from their greatest usefulness. Two widespread fallacies inspire the authorities in control of demoninational institutions to endeavor to see to it that no truth contrary to their idea of good doctrine shall appear in the college classrooms.

The first fallacy may be variously stated, as that science weakens religion; that love for the truth is not so important as love of virtue; that a fact can destroy faith; that youth should never hear the arguments for heresies.

It is our belief that complete knowledge is one of the final aims of religion; that love of virtue and love of truth are equally divine; that a fact can destroy nothing but superstition; and that in order to have reason for the faith that is in him, the youth should be given an opportunity to consider all the heresies in the calendar. Wisdom, like great riches, is to be acquired only with the taking of risks. The solicitude of parents for their son's spiritual safety is likely either to keep him foolish and a coward, or by reaction to make him doubly contumacious and refractory.

The second fallacy, fostered like the first by ignorance and cowardice, is that paying a professor's salary carries with it the right to censor the instruction he gives. The wealthy woman who hires Caruso to

appear at her soiree has no right to insist that the singer flatten a note or perform with anything but what he himself considers the best art. It is thus in all the higher forms of service, in the arts, in the occupations that deal with morality and religion, and those that deal with truth. The Church people and trustees who support a college have no right to insist that a professor teach anything less than that which seems to him the highest and most precious truth.

The professor should be as free to chose his utterances as the painter to chose his colors. Not until he enjoys the emancipation already conceded to be the right of the artist will the present shameful censorship of reason and truth by ignorance and cowardice cease to dwarf the influence of the denominational college.

The three experiences we have to relate show not only that the Church challenges reaction against itself, but that it sows the seeds of its own internal revolutions. Organizations live longer than creeds; the radical is the leaven of ferment. Woe to the organization that contains only the impeccably orthodox, for it is doomed. Ignorant folk who have never learned the lesson of history, cannot realize that the best truth possessed by one generation is constantly making way for the more-truth of the next generation.

Defenders of the denominational college are wont to point to the great intellectual leaders of the past and call attention to the fact that with very few exceptions they were pronouncedly religious. "See the importance of religious education," they say. "The hope of America lies in the denominational college, especially in a day when the Church has lost its hold on many of our ablest thinkers." The truth is that the Church never did *hold* the leading public man of any generation. It has been they who have *taken hold* of the Church. They have continued their association with the Church, not for what it could give them but for what they could give it. Church people often fail to see that the Church has seldom been progressive enough for the leaders it has produced. If it could once overcome the fear of its own great men, the problem of the denominational college would be well on its way toward solution.

But as long as orthodoxy remains a desideratum with religionists, the only hope of making progressive and truly educational institutions out of denominational colleges lies in the increased alumni control of trustees. It is natural that alumni should in time become the most loyal supporters of a college. At their worst, alumni are more liberal and sympathetic with freedom of thought than are Church assemblies and conferences.

Eventually, the election of trustees by alumni will lead to the denominational college becoming un-denominational. This prospect, however, should not alarm the denominations. The contribution of the denominational college to our civilization will be permanent. Tradition will secure to future generations, through Church and chapel attendance, courses in Bible study, etc., the emphasis on religion as an essential part of a liberal education which the Church has always been so zealous to preserve.

I.

I am a Baptist and the son of a Southern Baptist minister. It was inevitable, therefore, that I should attend a Baptist College and afterwards I went to Harvard for postgraduate work in English.

The Northern reader cannot imagine how orthodox my education had been. I had heard the theory of evolution mentioned but once, so far as I can recall, and then only to be bitterly condemned.

At Harvard my Northern friends considered me a curious survival from Puritan times, appearing in some inexplicable manner, not in New England but in the South. I need not describe the process of my mental awakening. It will be sufficient to say that I was for a year so harassed by doubts that I used sometimes to stand at night on the bridge over the historic Charles River and wonder if suicide were not the only solution. The bitterness of my own experience has made me hesitate to stir up doubts in others except when I am sure they will weather the storm safely.

After teaching for a year in a state university, I accepted a position in a Southern Baptist college as assistant professor of English.

The college, which I shall call X, is typical of Southern denominational colleges. Nearly all the teachers I found to be, in their way, efficient; but nine-tenths of them had crossed the "dead-line" and ceased to make any advance in scholarship. Only one in twenty-five ever wrote an article for anything except the state denominational paper. The "dead-line" was most plainly marked in the departments of Bible and Philosophy. The professor of the former subject had been trained in X and a theological seminary especially designed as a bulwark against the rising tide of higher criticism in the North. The professor of Philosophy was a former president of the college, who in a state university would long since have been retired on a pension. Since X could not afford a pension, he was given two classes in philosophy and psychology although he had had no university training and knew nothing of philosophical publications of the last quarter of a century. Cotton Mather would find more congenial associates in X, could he come back to earth, than anywhere in all New England; and the trustees of X would feel complimented if you were to tell them so.

It must not be imagined, however, that the reactionary forces at X held the entire field. There were a few very quiet and timid progressives in the faculty, and there was the college president, who was a scientist and somewhat of a radical. He believed, however, that the old bottles would hold all that was desirable of the new wine of radicalism. In earlier days he had come dangerously near expulsion for teaching the theory of evolution. When I came to X he was too powerful to be dismissed. He possessed the very unusual ability of expounding the most heretical doctrines in such a way that only those open to conviction really understood them. It is necessary, as I once heard another Southern college president say, to teach some things "with guile."

My colleague in the English department, I found, was one of the few who had not crossed the "dead-line." He was open to new truths; but so little was he accustomed to hearing one champion the doctrines which I uttered that he seemed shocked whenever I uttered them. "Yes, that is true enough," he would say. "I have often thought that. But tell it not in Gath. It won't go with the brethren." I suggested that we ought to have a course in the Romantic Period of English literature. "I tried that once," he answered. "That won't go with the brethren, either. There is too much radicalism in Byron and Shelley. Why, even in my course in the Victorian Period, I

don't dare touch Arnold's prose; and but for Emerson's ministerial manner I should have to omit him from my course in American literature." My own courses, fortunately, were in earlier English literature.

I hold that my experiences and those related by each of my friends are significant because we are instructors *in English literature*. The teacher of literature, unlike the teacher of language or science, must of necessity deal constantly with shocking heresies. He cannot ask his students to read any one of the major English poets of the last hundred years without seeming to recommend truths which fill orthodoxy with abhorrence. English literature is too broad a thing to enter full-sized into a denominational college.

During the first two years I studied the situation and kept quiet. At the beginning of my third year I was asked as I had been twice before to teach a Bible class. Having made up my mind to leave X at the end of the session and weary of the gag upon my lips, I accepted, with a determination to be true to my own convictions regardless of consequences. At the same time I determined to be as tactful as possible and refrain from expressing my own views except when absolutely essential to efficient teaching. Socrates and the college president were my models.

Cautiously I led my Bible students into discussions of the great world-religions, higher critism, and theological problems. My aim was to help the class not only toward independence of thought but also to a larger faith. The work was extremely perilous. My students, however, realizing my position, never talked over their difficulties except with one another. Had my class been larger or less discreet, I should have had trouble.

I have often wondered how I managed to finish the year without exciting suspicion. A friend of mine says the reason is plain: I do not look like a radical. "If I looked as sleepy and conservative as you do," he says, "I could have advanced my own propaganda without molestation."

(*Continued.*)

BATTLE CRY OF THE DREAMERS.

Forward! the cry is ever, On!
No fear shall hold us back.
We pierce the night to hail the dawn;
Our courage shall not slack.

Though clouds and mists impede the view,
Who could a doubt confess?
The morn shall bring a vision new;
Forward, and on, we press.

The mists and clouds—shall but a wraith
Say no to our advance?
One thing is sure: our glowing faith,
Which trials but enhance.

The fiery sun shall quench its beams,
The light of stars shall fade,
Yet shall endure all heaven-born dreams;
The truth can not be stayed.

The future waits upon our swords;
How could our stanch hearts quail!
Forward! Our battle is the Lord's,
Whose cause can never fail.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

SELECTED

Dr. Percy Stickney Grant's "Apologia"

I am afraid I am an old-fashioned American and look at present doings by the light of the past. All my people immigrated from England in the 1630's except one, who came from England in 1707. There is nothing but colonial blood in my family. As a boy, too, I came under old-time American influences. I attended the public schools of Boston. I prepared for college at the Roxbury Latin School, founded in 1645. The people I heard talked about as wonderful were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Governor Andrew, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison. In fact, I went to school as a small boy in sight of Mr. Phillips' front door, where he could be seen going and coming on high pleadings. When I was a little older he welcomed me in his Essex Street house, and wrote me a motto: "Peace if possible; justice at any rate."

The opinions of these men continued the great popular tradition of the New England Revolutionary leaders—Sam Adams, James Otis and John Adams. Both in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century our advocates of liberty were originally in the minority, but lived to see their ideas triumph, and become the views into which succeeding generations were born. Their way of looking at things became the American way.

Wendell Phillips said in 1860: "Governments exist to protect the rights of minorities. The loved and the rich need no protection—they have many friends and few enemies. We have praised our Union for seventy years. This is the first time it is tested. Has it educated men who know their rights and dare to maintain them? Can it bear the discussion of a great national sin, anchored deep in the prejudices and interests of millions? If so, it deserves to live. If not, the sooner it vanishes out of the way the better.

"The time to assert rights is when they are denied; the men to assert them are those to whom they are denied. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

I cannot believe that those who arranged the deportation of Sunday, December 21, 1919, remembered that it was Mayflower Day (almost the 300th anniversary), or recalled the traditions of emigrant, of colonial, of United States history, associated with Plymouth and Boston, summed up in their patriotic leaders and successful pleaders for human liberty. Otherwise they would not have denied asylum on a day famed for granting it.

They forgot another thing. America has tried deportation and failed.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony, which centered around Boston, permitted, as I have said, no one to vote who was not a Congregationalist and had been baptized in infancy. Baptists who did not believe in infant baptism were imprisoned, fined, deported. The Baptists were called anarchists, because of their history in Europe, where they were accused both in the Peasant Revolt of 1523 and in the Leyden uprising of 1535, of rebellion and of all sorts of immoralities. Nevertheless, the Baptists in the sixteenth century were the guardians of intellectual liberty.

Four Quakers, "persistent intruders," were hung on Boston Common. The Church of England men in Wallaston, five miles southeast of Boston, who liked plum pudding on Christmas Day, the May pole on May Day and the prayer book every day, were compelled to return to England. So Boston drove back over the seas, or it killed, or it sent out into the wilderness, those who disagreed with it; those it feared. What was the result? Today there are over 200 different religions in the United States and a fair number of them is represented in the citizenship of Boston.

I agree that if there is a regulation by which a man can be excluded from the country upon his arrival he can logically be apprehended and deported later on. But when he has entered not by subterfuge; when he has resided not in hiding or on sufferance—perhaps for many years—then to invoke the immigration laws smacks of *ex post facto* legislation. In fact, it is very much like persecution.

I believe that America generally (at any rate, the people) were shocked at the deportation on Mayflower Day. Many said nothing because it seemed carried out by due process of law, and also because the parties put on board the *Buford* were depicted in blackest colors.

We are dealing harshly with our weakest workers. Aliens have not the come-back of the ballot or even the backing of any organized government, since Russia is in straits and at war on fifteen fronts. They have not the assistance of money or of educated associates. In many cases they have not even the help of the English language. Are there any persons in America more at our mercy? Yet these are the people we seize, interrogate, accuse, deport.

But what is the law? I will quote an excellent summary taken from the *New Republic* of 24th of December:

"Under acts of Congress as they are now interpreted and enforced by the Bureau of Immigration, and sustained in the lower federal courts, any person who is not a citizen of the United States, however long he may have been a resident, however peaceable and law-abiding he may have been, may be summoned before an inspector of the Bureau of Immigration and subjected to an inquisition into his beliefs. He may prove that he has never advocated, and does not believe in violence, disobedience to law or active opposition to the government. He may be a non-resistant, a philosophic anarchist, a follower of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, he may never have taken a single active step toward bringing about the stateless millennium for which he yearns. Not for what he has done, not even for what he has publicly advocated, but for his private opinions as extracted in a governmental inquisition, he can be banished from the United States. He is entitled to no trial by jury in a court of justice. The usual safeguards of due process of law are denied him. Even the issue of his citizenship may be conclusively passed upon by the immigration inspector and his administrative superiors. The only jurisdiction the courts can exercise is through the mechanism of a writ of habeas corpus to ascertain that the Immigration Inspector give the suspect a hearing, and the opportunity (generally illusory because of the suspect's poverty) of representation by counsel, that he did not misinterpret the law, and that there was some evidence upon which he could act."

We have a right to scrutinize any law and its administrator. As I read the above description I can see how easily prejudice or ignorance can sway the agent from the Department of Labor; how easily ignorance and poverty can hurt the case of the prisoner; therefore I regret that one of our inferior legal methods is considered good enough for the alien. The Senate committee visiting Pittsburg found that the workmen were frequently changing their residence by the vicissitudes of work and therefore could not easily secure citizenship. Considering the clumsiness of our naturalization laws, is it fair to give the alien an inferior form of law?

When Wendell Phillips wrote, "Peace if possible; justice at any rate," he was not thinking of justice by due process of law. The people for whom he had pleaded were not protected by law. Justice for the negro had to be something higher than any law of the land.

Now my first consideration is not the behavior of the deported but the un-American method of punishment represented by deportation. Whether these deported persons were criminals ought, in my opinion, to have been decided by our ordinary courts and carried if necessary to the Supreme Court. If guilty of breaking any laws they should have been sent to prison. Prohibition has made room in many prisons.

I am not persuaded of the wisdom of deportation by being told the men were anarchists, just as I am not persuaded that burning at the stake is a civilized punishment when I am told that the victim was a murderer. Whatever the aliens have done, "deportation" is an incredibly un-American treatment.

In considering deportation I am not primarily concerned with what the Russians did or tried to do to Americans. The criminal law can attend to that, as it did when Berkman shot Mr. Frick. I am concerned with what Americans are doing to Russians. If the courts find crime, then give prison sentences of 100 years, electrocute, hang. As a form of punishment, deportation is not in accord with the spirit of American institutions. Personally I am as much for law and order as any presidential candidate. I abhor force and violence. I cannot with satisfaction view the lobbies in Washington conducted by the American Federation of Labor. On the contrary, I would demand a responsible political organization to settle industrial problems and to get new ideas upon the statute books. Moreover, I so keenly support the rights of property that I would have paid for every slave, for every distillery and brewery. But no matter how old-fashioned our Americanism may be, it is not served, in my opinion, by injustice or inhumanity.

Confidence in deportation to settle industrial unrest is based upon the theory that this unrest has no deep causes, is only temporary in its appearance and has been brought about by agitation. In a word, the unrest can be allayed if the speakers can be silenced by arrests and deportation or by military force. This theory displays a dangerous ignorance of the history of the labor movement. The early tradition of English labor was servile. For at least 500 years English workers struggled to become free. Such is the push behind the unrest in England and America. Steam and the industrial revolution threw labor out of any partnership relation to capital. Unrest is the evidence of a determination to come into a new partnership where labor shall have a "say." Only intelligence, information, patient discussion and good will can solve

our labor problem. Its roots are too deep for hasty and impetuous methods.

Deportation is repugnant to the democratic ideal, which is the protection of minorities. It contradicts the invitation of this country to the oppressed of the world and its welcome in the past to the champions of liberty.

Neither is deportation consistent with the courage of popular government, founded upon the belief that right will prevail if the people bring fact and honest conviction to the test of popular discussion. Give the people the truth about the facts and you need not fear the justice of their actions.

If there are 100,000 extremists in this country it would mean one-tenth of one per cent of the population. Are they to stampede 110,000,000? As a matter of fact, their numbers are much smaller than 100,000. We merely sidestep or postpone our problems when we silence those persons who disagree with us and their accumulation, until they become unmanageable, is a more dangerous possibility, than their recognition and individual solution as they come along.

Why should we not put some of our school methods into governmental attitudes? Deportation, as Gilbert Chesterton would put it, throws the baby out of the window when it cries instead of improving its milk. We no longer send bad school boys—truants, etc.—to associate with criminals, near penitentiaries, but we improve the home and teaching condition of their lives. We are not discouraged to the extent of throwing them out of the school—we provide special and better schools for them. Give the worst boys the best teachers. Give aliens our best laws and our most intelligent attention.

Deportation adds to our enemies, hatred and misunderstanding by sending 300 ambassadors of hate. It harms us here and abroad. Deportation adds to the mental resources of people with whom we are at war by sending leaders to them.

Only a few months ago I heard a New York business man express great hope of Russia as a field of American business—more accessible and with larger population than South America. Why, then, pursue a policy which is driving Russia into other commercial relationships and embittering a great population, which in the past we have been pleased to claim as especially friendly? Russia asks bread and we send them "Bolsheviks."

We are deporting working people in a depleted labor market when our need of workers is one of the elements in our industrial difficulties.

What is the use of getting so hot over our problems? When we know a little more about economic history we shall deal more rationally with our problems. Mr. Vanderlip recently said that we, in America, do not know enough about economics to lead the business of the world. Let us spend some of our energy in learning political science rather than in scrapping when we don't understand the causes of the things we fight about.

Strictly speaking, there are not as many agitators now in the labor movement as there used to be. Agitation has done its work. The workers are aroused. If they wish to become any "madder" than they are, they only have to read the newspapers.

A friend of mine, traveling in the West, was told by a labor leader that the most efficient agitator in behalf of labor at present was an officer in the United States Steel Company.

The labor leaders today are appealing not to the emotions but to the head. They are young men very largely, who are specialists in statistics, in political science, in organization. They are not given to making speeches. They get things done with their science and experience. More than this, the tendency among the more advanced unions of the country is to have their votes and decisions made in convention by union delegates, sent as committees from the various locals—committees which can be discharged as soon as the special legislation has been accomplished.

A CLERGYMAN'S POSITION.

The position of a clergyman should be understood. Primarily he selects his vocation not on account of his devotion to a particular creed, but because through the church he sees the most continuous opportunity to be of help to people in a direct hand-to-hand way, with the troubles of their lives. He is so successful at that that 68 per cent of the Episcopal clergymen receive $1,400 a year or less. He gives up any idea of political ambition or of any first-class attainment outside the pulpit. The difference between him and his congregation is that while their humanitarianism is very beautiful and ample for their bread-winning or professional careers, his is the sole concern of his life.

All his time is spent in observation, reading, thinking, writing and personal contact with the human problems of the time. This procedure naturally enlarges whatever were his original sympathies with mankind. A clergyman that is not as broadly sympathetic as life demands has no business in his profession. He will go to the rescue of any one who seems to be hurt or who is being unfairly treated. And he does this without any prejudice to his views or behavior. If a man is run down in the street the people who hasten to his assistance do not inquire whether he is a burglar or a bishop. It is the hurt that they are concerned with.

New York Evening Post.

THE PRISON OF GOD.

When we unshackle Serbia's chains,
When we lighten Belgium's pains,

And set the pale Armenian free,
And make a highway of the sea,

Restore again the captive soul
Of the age-long tortured Pole,

When we make all the little States
Their own gentle potentates,

When every child in every place
Is the darling of his race,

When every sick man is made whole,
And all men sane, from pole to pole,

And every workman sings for joy,
And all the idle find employ,

When hungry folk have got their share,
And anxious folk are free from care,

When every soldier's work is done,
And ground to powder every gun,

Every prisoner set free,
Every sailor home from sea,

Then God's chains will be loosed, and He
Will walk on earth with you and me.

The Venturer. —*Edith Anne Stewart.*

THE STUDY TABLE

Regarding Mexico

"Intervention in Mexico." Samuel Guy Inman. New York: 1919. Association Press. 16mo, pp. xi 248. Price $1.50.

So much that is false and bitter, calculated to inflame and hostilize, has appeared recently about Mexico, that we hail every effort to present the real state of affairs. Mr. Inman has lived in Mexico and at Piedras Negras, a border town, has had the opportunity of trying an experiment in the reaction of Young Mexico to the opportunity for culture and self-improvement. The story of his evening reading room, which grew into a *People's Institute* is most instructive. And Piedras Negras was one of the least promising towns for such an experiment. What was done there could be more easily accomplished in scores of other cities and towns further in the interior of Mexico. The Mexican is quick to see, and quick to respond to any evidence of sympathetic interest. Mr. Inman's book makes but incidental reference to this institute. Its real purpose is to show how the Mexican looks upon us and why, that the present movement in Mexico is a real revolution aiming towards permanent improvement, and what manner of man Carranza is. Inman knew Carranza when he was governor of the State of Coahuila; he revisited him last year to see something of him as President of the Republic. He is, of course, opposed to intervention, sees hope for the future, and feels that many of the experiments now being tried will succeed with advantage if only they are allowed to take their course. He is deeply interested in the joint educational movement undertaken by the churches that conduct mission-work in Mexico and outlines their plan in considerable detail. It must be admitted that this movement is at least sympathetic, and if there must be any kind of "intervention" in Mexico, this is undoubtedly the best. We ourselves feel that even schools from outside are undesirable, but if Mexico is really *unable* to meet her educational needs, we would rather help should be given in this way than in any other. With the spirit and general purpose of Inman's book we are in hearty sympathy.

"Empiricism of Latin-American Governments and the Empiricism of their Relations with the United States." Manuel Gamio. Mexico: 1919. 8vo, pp. 21.

Under this formidable and rather forbidding title, Manuel Gamio, director of the anthropological board of the Mexican government, discusses the source and reasons of the feeling of distrust and hostility between the Latin-American republics and the United States. He finds them in the fact that the Latin-American republics do not well know themselves and that the United States does not know them at all. The failure of Latin-American lands to know themselves, he attributes to the heterogeneity of the population, the lack of a common language (for instance more than a dozen native languages are still spoken in the state of Oaxaca), and the resultant absence of a genuine national feeling. The author urges a thoroughgoing, fundamental study of itself upon each of the Latin-American republics. Permanent constructive political work can only be done upon such a study. So far as the knowledge of the United States regarding these republics is concerned, it is based upon contact with diplomats, exploiters, missionaries and specialist scientists. Gamio claims that the contact of these is necessarily narrow and limited and that the actual knowledge gained through them is meagre. There are, however, two groups of foreigners who may be expected to have a wider knowledge and be competent to give a truer picture. These are special students of social sciences (ethnologists, anthropologists, linguists, etc.) and newspaper correspondents. The former reach but a small circle; the latter are usually already committed to some definite viewpoint before they enter the field. Under all these circumstances, the actual knowledge of any Latin-American republic—as Mexico, for example—in the United States is very small, notwithstanding the actually large number of individuals, who have been in contact. As regards the shaping of international policies, the State Department at Washington depends upon four sources of information—diplomatic reports, consular reports, press information and private reports. These are usually either warped and untrue or shallow and limited. The importance of what Gamio calls "transcendental reports"—by those who have made serious study of the complex social conditions of the country is stressed. While in hearty sympathy with Señor Gamio's main contention—that genuine knowledge of every Latin-American country is necessary if we are to be just—and while we urge every means of increasing our knowledge of them, we feel that what he states of our ignorance is equally true of us and many countries completely outside of America. We are painfully ignorant everywhere and yet we are not equally unjust everywhere. The unfortunate thing is that we are very near the Latin-American countries and they present attractive fields for exploitation. Most American "interests" do not truly want to know the true Mexico, for really to know it might interfere with business.

"Por el Honor de la America latina. El Problema monetario planteado y resuelto." (For the Honor of Latin-America. The Monetary Problem Stated and Solved.) Tomas Ceron Camargo, Mexico: 1918. 16mo, pp. 264. Price 10 pesos.

Tomas Ceron Camargo, Columbian by birth, but sometime resident in these United States, has at times given some concern to our wise men in politics and finance. The various efforts he has made to unite the Latin-American republics in directions of literary, social, economic and political progress are interesting and have taken him to various of the Central and South American countries. He is now in Mexico, where he is urging monetary reforms. He has published a book on the subject which abounds in bold and radical statements. The book consists of two parts, the first being a "refutation" of the scheme of monetary reform recommended by Prof. Kemmerer, and the second being a discussion of the philosophy and jurisprudence of money. Prof. Kemmerer of Princeton was engaged by the Carranza government to plan a reorganization of Mexico's monetary system. Camargo attacks his entire scheme with great bitterness, claiming that there is no reason why Mexico should be given over to New York or London bankers. He holds that Mexico can solve her own financial problem and that, being a sovereign power, there is no reason why she may not issue money on the same terms and conditions as England and Germany did (before

the war). We shall not follow the details of his argument but will quote his plan of a Latin-American monetary Union:

"1. The theoretical monetary unit of the Latin-American countries is the *peso* divided into 100 centavos, represented indifferently by 1.4337 grammes of pure gold with an alloy of .1593 gramme of copper and a total weight of 1.5930 grammes; and 20 grammes of pure silver with an alloy of 2.2222 grammes of copper and a total weight of 22.2222 grammes (13.95:1).

"2. There will be coined the following subdivisions of the peso: the half peso . . ., the fifth of a peso, and the tenth of a peso . . ." (each with the precise content of silver and copper alloy corresponding to the above stated silver peso).

"3. The silver moneys coined in accordance with the present project, are irredeemable, will have full legal powers, will have free circulation, at par value, in all the countries of the Confederation and its coinage will be unrestricted. The contracting nations may stipulate, within their respective jurisdictions, concerning the quantities of fractional currency which may be offered in payment of contractural obligations.

"4. The gold and silver money which may be coined in accordance with this project will be considered as the legal and current money of account, in the countries of the Confederation.

"5. Pure gold, uncoined, may be offered and received in payment of contractual obligations between the governments, governments and individuals, and between individuals, at the rate of 21.69 pesos to the troy ounce of 1000 fine.

"6. All the silver moneys existing in the countries of the Confederation, which are not in harmony with the principles of this project will be demonetized; but the governments may adopt the temporary arrangements necessary for the maintenance of a regular circulating medium, during the process of recoinage, in such a manner as not to prejudice the interests of the citizens.

"7. Silver money not coined by the governments of the Confederated countries ought to be considered false and the coiners severely punished.

"8. The silver money belonging to countries which do not belong to the Atlantic Confederation, shall not have powers as a money of account, within the countries of this Confederation, and will only be considered as merchandise. The contracting parties promise to weight the circulation of such silver moneys within the countries of the Atlantic Confederation with an exchange not less than 50% of the face value as shown by their inscriptions; and to weight the circulation of notes, bonds, or monetary substitutes, which are not issued by the Financial Executive of the Atlantic Confederation with 100% exchange."

The book is cleverly written. The author summarizes his conclusions in simple proportions some of which are certainly sound. In his criticism of Prof. Kemmerer's employment and of his proposed system he is incisive. The second half of the book is in the words of the author himself a "Criticism of Latin-American monetary systems, written with the deliberate intention of liberating the nations of Latin-America from the pernicious influence of the International Banker and as a consequence from the tyrannical atavisms of our directive classes." Camargo raises some simple questions that seem to merit direct and conclusive answer. If he is in error in argument and conclusions, it should be easy to expose him. He challenges argument. As he seems to offer a constructive plan in his proposed "Confederation," it should be easy to demonstrate its unsoundness, if it is unsound.

FREDERICK STARR.

"UNTIMELY PAPERS" by Randolph Bourne. (B. W. Huebsch.)

To many comfortable Americans these "Untimely Papers" by the late Randolph Bourne will seem like a desecration of what L. P. Jacks described as "the Sabbath peacefulness of being at war." To others it will stand, to use Mr. Oppenheim's words in his foreword to the present volume, as "a symbol of our future, marking the beginning of our coming-of-age."

Bourne was ever passionately concerned with America. His physical affliction shut him off from the routine herd-life that early absorbs most normal American boys. He explored the spiritual possibilities of life about him, and he yearned for a better America, an America that would use to the full the dreams of its young men and women, and that would rise above all limitations of race and creed and culture. And it is just this hope and longing which gives such point to his indictment of that cold and practical strain in American life in the chapter, "Twilight of Ideals," in which he says of the youth of America:

> What is significant is that it is the technical side of the war that appeals to them, not the interpretative or political side. The formulation of values and ideals, the production of articulate and suggestive thinking, had not, in their education, kept apace, to any extent whatever, with their technical aptitude. The working out of this American philosophy in our intellectual life, then, has meant an exaggerated emphasis on the mechanics of life at the expense of the quality of living. We suffer from a real shortage of spiritual values.

In a paper of telling significance on the War and the Intellectuals he traces the crumbling of the integrity of the American intellectuals under the steady pressure of war propaganda. Seldom has the forming of the ice of conformity over the waters of fresh thinking been so clearly and disturbingly depicted.

The essay on the State, an unfinished fragment on which Bourne was at work when he died in the winter of 1918, is masterly and impressive. One of the most desirable services which could be rendered this generation at this time would be the reading and expounding of the 90 pages.

England has her Bertrand Russell, France her Rolland and Barbusse, Germany her Nicolai, and America is now learning that in her midst she had the flaming spirit of Randolph Bourne.

JOHN MORRIS EVANS.

I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not.

I like a system which lets a man "quit" when he wants to and I wish it might prevail everywhere. I want a man to have a chance to better his condition; that is the true system. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer.

—*Abraham Lincoln.*

NEWS FROM EUROPE

The Boom in Crime:

It is interesting to note that ours is not the only country that is suffering from a wave of crime. The London *Daily Herald* gives us the following:

Discussing some of the causes which have probably led to the remarkable growth of crime since the Armistice was signed, an eminent police official, who has been acquainted with the machinations of the criminal fraternity in London for many years, attributed many of the cases to the carelessness of the present-day jewelry wearers.

"During the war," he said, "owners of valuable jewels ensured the safe custody of their gems by placing them in a bank. In the event of a special society function, the jewels were removed from the bank and replaced soon afterwards.

"But for ordinary every-day wear a good imitation necklace or ring was generally worn."

The signing of the Armistice was the signal for the relaxation of rules and precautions, and the banks disgorged their valuables.

Another factor that is responsible for the crime-wave is the release from the Army of the expert thief.

It is also interesting to note that this country is by no means alone in its victimization by crime. France, Germany, the United States, and, in fact, in every country the criminal statistics show an astonishing increase since the conclusion of the great war.

In addition to extraordinary cunning and ingenuity, these pests of society have, especially in several recent cases of house-breaking, displayed much courage and nerve. Several big houses in the western suburbs have been entered by the miscreants climbing up the front of the premises—in some instances a hazardous task.

In the midst of this crime "boom" it is satisfactory to note that the London police are making every effort to reduce the activities of these criminals to a minimum.

Within the past few weeks the Criminal Investigation Department has been busily engaged and has been able to obtain full descriptions of "wanted" men, the publicity of which has led to many being brought to justice.

Since the armed raids on the banks at Leeds and Wood Green, a large number of the London and provincial banks have taken suitable precautions.

In several of the City branches the head messengers have been armed with revolvers, whilst in the quiet suburban areas steps are being taken to have the local branches placed in charge of armed guards.

A heavy penalty will be inflicted on the cashier who permits a pile of Treasury notes to be displayed upon the counter—a custom which has been recognized for a very long time.

British Naval Estimates:

The *Manchester Guardian* says:

The details of the Navy Estimates for 1919-20 are published to-day, but they raise more questions than they answer and require much elucidation. The total is rather more than £157,000,000, or three-quarters of our total Budget before the war. Part of this huge total, of course, is accounted for by increases in wages, pensions, and the like. The items which require explanation are those which depend on policy, partly technical and constructional policy and partly the international policy of the Government. "Contract work," by which is meant mainly shipbuilding, accounts for nearly £42,000,000, and armaments and aviation for almost £16,000,000; in the shipbuilding figures new construction amounts to £25,647,781. There are two main questions which these figures raise. The first, what modifications in design and construction are to be made as a result of the lessons of the war—principally the submarine and the aeroplane? Of course if Lord Fisher's views are correct and are adopted by the Government, and if battleships are obsolete and are to be scrapped in favor of submersible monitors, then it is clear that "new construction" will be necessary. But the scale on which it is necessary depends—this is the second question—on the policy which the Government pursues, in co-operation with other Powers, in respect of the League of Nations and the disarmament which it was to seek to bring about. At present the League lags sadly, the word disarmament is scarcely breathed among the Powers, and we, having ended the war with a fleet of overwhelming size, have for the period of 1919-20 embarked on new construction to the tune of over £25,000,000.

Here is food for thought in view of the proposed loan.

What is Justice?

The following discussion is worthy of our serious consideration. We are indebted to the London weekly paper, *Common Sense*:

What is justice? The question is as difficult to answer as "What is truth?" We used to be proud of English justice and English judges. After the experience of this war this pride has had a fall. The other day, reading P. G. Hamerton's "French and English," I came upon a definition which struck me, and I set it down here: "Justice is the power of suspending judgment until evidence is forthcoming, and then the disposition to decide on the merits of the case unbiased by prepossessions of any kind." It is, he adds, "one of the rarest, perhaps the very rarest, of intellectual virtues, and hardly ever to be found in times of strife, either between nations or between parties in the same nation." Never mind. Has not Mr. Lloyd George promised to hang the Kaiser after a fair trial?

The Lady and the Grapes:

Hampton Court's great vine, the grapes of which have just been purchased by Viscountess Wolseley for distribution among sick and wounded soldiers, is said to be a cutting obtained in the eighteenth century from the famous Essex vinery at Valentines. It is believed to have been planted about 1768 by "Capability" Brown, who then had charge of Hampton Court grounds and afterwards won wide celebrity as the founder of the English style of landscape gardening. This gigantic tree, with a girth of more than 5 ft. near the ground, is usually considered the oldest and largest vine in England, but has several formidable rivals. Among them must be reckoned the less-known vine at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Park, belonging to the same Black Hamburg variety, which is much larger but of unknown antiquity. Neither of these two patriarchs is now allowed to ripen more than 400 bunches of grapes.

The British Army Estimates:

The Nation, London, holds out little prospect of a reduction of armament. It says:

The Army Estimates for the year 1919-20 reach the gigantic figures of 405 millions. They provide for 2,600,000 men, and the one element of hope is that this figure will, we are told, fall to 400,000 (including 100,000 Indians) by the end of March. That is better than the original estimate of 825,000 men next March. But there is no change of policy; the pressure towards economy has merely resulted in a speeding up of demobilization. The old army, including the Flying Corps, cost us 28 millions in the last year of peace. Mr. Chamberlain is a soaring optimist when he puts the future cost of army and air force at 75 millions in a normal year. These figures and the Naval Estimates (157 millions!) are simply the price we are paying for after-war militarism. If we give France the alliance she wants, they will mount up far beyond the dizzy height they have reached. Already America is threatening that unless there is an agreement to reduce armaments she will maintain a navy equal to that of the strongest Power. The world is thus settling down to its new race in militarism. And we lead the way.

Cannibalism in Europe:

The Archbishop of York, preaching on Sunday night, asked: "Do we realize that Austria's whole population is within hours or days of failing to have sufficient food? Do we realize that it may conceivably happen in a short time that something like cannibalism may appear in the heart of civilized Europe?"

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE FREE SPEECH "DEAD LINE."

The exact reason why Congress cannot pass any peace time espionage and sedition laws without destroying free speech for everybody, was set forth by Judson King, Executive Secretary of the National Popular Government League of Washington, D. C., in a speech before the Judiciary Committee of the House. After stating the present penal code was strong enough to stop any advocacy of force "more powerful than a pea shooter," Mr. King said:

"Here is the question: How can you know by what a man merely speaks or writes that he has a treasonable 'intent' to overthrow the government of his country by force and violence?

"The Kaiser, the Czar, and every autocratic penal code of Europe answers thus: *Judge his words, and punish him for what you interpret his words to intend, or to mean.*

"Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and all the Fathers give answer in the Constitution of the United States thus: *Judge the 'intent' of his words from an overt act which he has committed and which can be proven in court.*

"Back of the American principle lay a thousand years of European history which the Fathers had clearly in mind. We do well to recall it.

"The European practice goes on the legal theory of 'constructive treason.' As a result thousands on thousands of the best men and women of their age have been sent to the stake, the scaffold, or to rot in prison, because they had criticized their government, or had advocated some reform which learned judges *interpreted* to be 'treasonable' or 'seditious.'

"So the Fathers said we will have none of that tyranny in America. This is to be government of laws, not of men; we will leave nothing to a guessing judge or a prejudiced jury. We will punish DEEDS, not MERE WORDS; ACTS, not OPINIONS. . . . And frankly I do not believe that Mr. Palmer, this committee or this Congress can draft a bill that will further extend the power of the government over mere *utterance* without destroying free speech in America, by setting up 'constructive treason.'"

From the National Popular Government League, 637 Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.

COMMUNITY CHURCH NEWS.

So successful have been the services conducted in Boston, in anticipation of the possible organization of a Community Church, that the local group, with whom the movement originated, have unanimously decided to continue services indefinitely into the spring season.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes opened the February series of services with a sermon on "The Community Church and the Social Crisis." Rev. John Herman Randall followed on February 8th with a sermon on "Shall America Lose Her Soul?" Other speakers announced for the month include Dr. Frank Oliver Hall, Bishop Paul Jones, and Dr. Norman Thomas.

Music at these services is furnished by the veteran musician and composer, and friend of all progressive causes, Mr. John Orth.

The organization of a Community Church is announced in Pepperell, Massachusetts. This institution represents a union and reorganization of the Unitarian and Congregational churches in the town.

THE WAY OF THE WORLD.

Where, oh where? and why, oh why?
And how do the worlds go 'round?
And how does the atom know its way?
And where's the electron found?

And what brings the thing around each time
To the place where it was before?
And why don't they bump each other off
Before they reach the core?

And what if the ion lost its head
And didn't work right any more?
And who knows what it will do next week
That it never has done before?

And why do we read from left to right
Instead of the other way?
L-i-v-e, if you read it straight,
But what does the other say?

L-o-v-e, that's the way it read,
Till Adam fell to the ground;
E-v-o-l, and the process begins
To pull him and turn him 'round.

How far did he fall? And what was Cain,
When he couldn't see God any more?
Could he take a mate except from those
Who had never seen God of yore?

And what was his son? Don't miss the verb
And read the Hebrew straight.
And what do you think would happen next,
When Cain's son took a mate?

And what was the chance? Was all then lost?
Was he down and out to stay?
For how could he want what he couldn't see,
With his spirit-sight away?

And then came what? L-o-v-e
Came down all the weary way,
Came down where he was, *by the way that he came,*
But it don't come down to stay.

E-v-o-l, how many *downs*
Had there been? And who shall say
How many *ups,* till in fullness of time
Unto man there was born one day

In the city of David, a little child
Who could *see.* In the manger lay
"The image of Spirit," Adam again,
But bound in his house of clay.

E-v-o-l, oh, the weary way!
Can he win where Adam lost?
Will the seeing hold? 'Tis the tree of Life
Or of Death, nor count the cost;

"For I, if I be lifted up
All men will draw with me."
E-v-o-l, and from the dust
He pulled the spirit free.

Unbound the chains that *evil* wrought,
The power to *live* flung free.
Again man stands by the tree of life;
Will he choose it—L-o-v-e?

—*Anonymous.*

A REMINDER.

Owing to the greatly increased expense of printing and paper, we have found it necessary to increase the subscription price of UNITY from Two Dollars to Three Dollars per year, beginning with the new volume, March 1, 1920. We do this with great reluctance; and in order to afford our subscribers the opportunity of taking UNITY at the old price, we will accept subscriptions at the usual rate, whether new or renewals, until March first. We hope our readers will avail themselves of the chance to renew their subscriptions, to order gift subscriptions, and to induce their friends to subscribe between now and the beginning of the new rate. This month may well be used as a subscription campaign. There are doubtless thousands of people who would enjoy UNITY if they knew of its existence and the position it takes on the issues of the day. We shall be glad to send sample copies to all whose names may be sent us as likely to be interested.

E. LL. J.

"The Faith That Makes Faithful"

By WILLIAM C. GANNETT AND JENKIN LLOYD JONES

THE NEW EDITION, from the press of The Stratford Company, Boston, starts the book upon its thirty-sixth thousand. It contains a new preface by Mr. Jones dated September, 1918, with a footnote by Mr. Gannett, a month later, stating that "the little book now has a memorial value" since the revision and writing of the new preface were among the last tasks performed by Mr. Jones.

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